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Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15
TRSE-00 HA-05 CU-04 /087 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:JKORNBLUM:MEM
APPROVED BY EUR:JEGOODBY
EUR/RPM:SJLEDOGAR
ACDA:LFISCHER (DRAFT)
NSC:GTREVERTON (INFO)
DOD/ISA:HDUNLOP (INFO)
----------098827 182135Z /65
O P 182023Z FEB 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
USCINCEUR PRIORITY
USDEL MC BRUSSELS PRIORITY
USNMR SHAPE BELGIUM PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 044013

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OCON, CSCE

SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE: POST-BELGRADE EXPERTS GROUPS

REFS: A. BELGRADE 1129; B. BELGRADE 1218; C. BELGRADE 1360;
D. USNATO 1543; E. BELGRADE 1366

1. DEPARTMENT IS GRATEFUL FOR ANALYSIS IN REFTELS OF ISSUES CONNECTED WITH POST-BELGRADE WORKING GROUPS. THIS MESSAGE DISCUSSES THE SUBSTANTIVE AND TACTICAL ISSUES WHICH WE BELIEVE WILL AFFECT THE US POSITION ON POST-

BELGRADE GROUPS IN THE CONCLUDING WEEKS OF THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE. IT ALSO PROVIDES SPECIFIC GUIDANCE ON QUESTIONS POSED BY DELEGATION ON CBMS WORKING GROUP AND SETS FORTH OUR VIEWS ON OTHER POSSIBLE POST-BELGRADE MEETINGS.

2. THE ORIGINAL INSTRUCTIONS TRANSMITTED TO AMBASSADOR

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GOLDBERG IN OCTOBER (77 STATE 245506) INCLUDED AUTHORIZATION TO CONSIDER ESTABLISHMENT OF A LIMITED NUMBER OF EXPERTS GROUPS QUOTE TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY CORRESPOND WITH OVERALL US POLICY GOALS. UNQUOTE. AT THIS TIME AND AS THINGS HAVE DEVELOPED IN BELGRADE, WE CONTINUE TO SHARE THE MAJORITY VIEW AMONG NATO ALLIES THAT EXPERTS

GROUPS AS SUCH ARE NOT IN THE OVERALL WESTERN INTEREST. THEREFORE, DELEGATION SHOULD RESIST THEIR ESTABLISHMENT UNLESS THERE SHOULD DEVELOP AN OVERRIDING ADVANTAGE TO US INTERESTS IN BELGRADE WHICH CALLS FOR A CHANGE IN OUR POSITION. DEPENDING ON HOW THE NEGOTIATIONS DEVELOP, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT AGREEMENT TO ONE OR MORE EXPERTS GROUPS IN ADDITION TO THE TWO ALREADY MANDATED BY THE FINAL ACT COULD BE IMPORTANT TO SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE BELGRADE MEETING. HOWEVER, THE ONLY CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH WE CAN PRESENTLY FORESEE ADVANTAGES TO US INTERESTS WOULD BE IF AGREEMENT TO EXPERTS GROUPS WERE NECESSARY IN ORDER TO OBTAIN A BALANCED RESULT TO THE BELGRADE MEETING OR TO ENSURE THAT SPECIFIC US INTERESTS, ESPECIALLY IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD ARE PROTECTED.

3. DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES ARE AS FOLLOWS:

A. BALANCE: IT IS IMPORTANT, BOTH FOR THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF BELGRADE AND FOR THE FUTURE OF THE CSCE
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PROCESS, THAT THE FIRST FOLLOW-UP MEETING ACHIEVE A BALANCED RESULT. IN OUR VIEW, THIS MEANS THAT THE FINAL DOCUMENT CANNOT FEATURE DETAILED TREATMENT OF ONE OR TWO ISSUES TO THE EXCLUSION OF OTHERS. THE MOST DIFFICULT QUESTION IN THIS REGARD IS THE IMPRESSION WHICH WILL RESULT IF THE FINAL DOCUMENT INCLUDES AGREEMENT ON EXPERTS GROUPS IN FIELDS SUCH AS THE MEDITERRANEAN AND CBMS, BUT HAS NO CONCRETE LANGUAGE ON HUMAN RIGHTS OR BASKET III ISSUES. SINCE BALANCE IS SO IMPORTANT, DELEGATION'S REACTION TO INDIVIDUAL PROPOSALS FOR WORKING GROUPS SHOULD BE COORDINATED SO THAT AGREEMENT IN ONE AREA DOES NOT RACE AHEAD OF NEGOTIATIONS IN OTHERS.

B. MODALITIES: OUR VIEWS ON THE MODALITIES FOR EXPERTS GROUPS REMAIN THE SAME AS THOSE TRANSMITTED IN THE BASIC DELEGATION INSTRUCTIONS. WE ARE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT THE EXPERTS GROUPS BE ESTABLISHED FOR A CLEARLY LIMITED PERIOD OF TIME AND THAT THEIR REPORTS BE TRANSMITTED DIRECTLY TO GOVERNMENTS. THE SUBJECT MATTER TO BE CONSIDERED SHOULD ALSO BE CAREFULLY CIRCUMSCRIBED.

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C. TACTICS: IN LIGHT OF THE ABOVE CONSIDERATIONS,
WE BELIEVE DELEGATION SHOULD ADOPT A SKEPTICAL APPROACH
TO PROPOSALS FOR ADDITIONAL POST-BELGRADE EXPERTS GROUPS
UNTIL THE OUTLINES OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT BECOME MORE
CLEAR. THERE ARE THREE MAIN REASONS FOR THIS CONCLUSION:
A) ACCEPTANCE IN PRINCIPLE OF NEW EXPERTS GROUPS BY THE
UNITED STATES AT THIS POINT WOULD HAVE CONSIDERABLE
EFFECT ON THE VIEWS OF OTHER, ESPECIALLY WESTERN,

PARTICIPANTS; B) WE MAY BE ABLE TO DEVELOP SOME
NEGOTIATING LEVERAGE BY WITHHOLDING AGREEMENT TO
CONSIDER EXPERTS GROUPS, AND C) IT WILL BE IMPORTANT
TO ENSURE THAT MORE IMPORTANT US CONCERNS ARE DEALT
WITH SATISFACTORILY BEFORE AGREEING TO CONSIDER EXPERTS
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GROUPS. CONCERNING THIS LATTER POINT, DELEGATION MAY
WISH TO CONSIDER WHETHER AT SOME POINT IT WOULD BE
USEFUL FROM A TACTICAL POINT OF VIEW TO SUGGEST THE
NEED FOR AN EXPERTS GROUP IN THE HUMANITARIAN SECTIONS
OF BASKET III TO BALANCE THOSE PROPOSED IN OTHER
SECTIONS OF THE FINAL ACT.

4. COMMENTS ON INDIVIDUAL PROPOSALS FOR EXPERTS GROUPS
ARE AS FOLLOWS:

A. CBMS: ALTHOUGH WE UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF
ENCOURAGING NNA EFFORTS TO WORK FOR COMPROMISE IN THE
CBMS FIELD, DELEGATION SHOULD NOT ACCEPT THE NNA PAPER
(BELGRADE 1360) AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION AT THIS TIME.
IN OUR VIEW, ACCEPTANCE OF THE NNA PAPER WOULD INDICATE
READINESS TO ACCEPT THE QUOTE PACKAGE DEAL UNQUOTE
CONCEPT DESCRIBED IN BELGRADE 1129, INCLUDING THE IDEA
OF A POST-BELGRADE WORKING GROUP. AS DISCUSSED ABOVE,
WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT US, AS MOST IMPORTANT CSCE
PARTICIPANT, SHOULD INDICATE READINESS TO ACCEPT EXPERTS
GROUP UNTIL NECESSITY OF ESTABLISHING SUCH A GROUP
BECOMES CLEARER. IN DISCUSSION OF NNA PAPER AT NATO
CAUCUS ON FEBRUARY 20, DELEGATION SHOULD URGE CONTINUED
EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON ALLIED CBMS PROPOSALS
IN BELGRADE. IN DISCUSSING QUESTION OF EXPERTS GROUP,
DELEGATION SHOULD DRAW UPON EXCELLENT ARGUMENTS IN
USNATO 1543. GUIDANCE ON DETAILS OF NNA PAPER IS
CONTAINED IN STATE 42094. AS DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE
PROCEEDS, WE WOULD APPRECIATE DELEGATION'S ASSESSMENT
OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR WORKING GROUP, ESPECIALLY AMONG
ALLIED COUNTRIES, AND POSSIBILITY THAT US AND ALLIES
MAY BECOME ISOLATED IN OPPOSITION TO NNA PAPER.

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B. MEDITERRANEAN: DEPARTMENT CONCURS IN POSITION ADOPTED BY DELEGATION ON THIS ISSUE AS REPORTED IN BELGRADE 1218. IN FURTHER DISCUSSION OF MEDITERRANEAN YOU SHOULD BE GUIDED BY ABOVE COMMENTS AND BY GUIDANCE IN STATE 4333. AS DISCUSSIONS PROCEED, WE WOULD BE ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN VIEWS OF OTHER ALLIES ON MEDITERRANEAN QUESTION.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 feb 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE044013
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JKORNBLUM:MEM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780076-0913
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780236/aaaabeeu.tel
Line Count: 184
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 421b61d3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 BELGRADE 1129, 78 BELGRADE 1218, 78 BELGRADE 1360, 78 USNATO 1543, 78 BELGRADE 1366
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3544530
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BELGRADE CSCE: POST-BELGRADE EXPERTS GROUPS
TAGS: OCON, CSCE
To: BELGRADE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/421b61d3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
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Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014